

1. A NEW AGE IS DAWNING

[Speech broadcast over AZAD HIND RADIO—a North German Station on March 11, 1942]

"Sisters and brothers! For some time I have watched the changes in the world calmly and quietly. The fall of Singapore is a prelude to the fall of the British Empire. A new era is setting in. By enslaving us, the British have entirely ruined our morality and our finances. We bow our heads before God, who has granted us such an auspicious occasion for freeing India. In this age there is no greater enemy of freedom and progress than Britain. Now is the time to wake up from your slumber. The end of British domination will mean the end of a tyrannous regime, and the beginning of a new life in the history of India. The British have heaped indignities and humiliations upon us. Again we thank God for giving us this auspicious opportunity. Today many nations of the world are the enemies of Britain. The friends of Britain are our enemies.

"The Indian National Congress claims to guide the nation. But its half-hearted measures have encouraged British leaders to continue to follow the old and hackneyed course, namely, of making promises without meaning to fulfil them. I also know that there are such people in India who are anxious to preserve the British Empire. The majority of Indians do not want either British rule or their economic system. We will not cease fighting until Mother India is free.

"In the world is dawning a new age. A true patriot says that his own fate must be decided by himself. We are ready to co-operate with any nation that will help us in regaining our independence. I hope that all my Indian brothers and sisters will help me in this war against the British. Even with her cunning, and underhand policy, Britain cannot fool India, neither can she stop Indians from cherishing their ideal of nationalism. India has decided to fight for her freedom. She will not only free herself, but will free Asia and even the whole world."

2. THE AXIS POWERS ARE OUR FRIENDS

[Broadcast from Berlin on March 13, 1942]

Friends! The fall of Singapore has been hastily followed by the collapse of other military bases of Britain's imperialistic Allies in East Asia. The Japanese capture of Rangoon has revived the hopes of freedom of the Burmese. They

will again breathe a free atmosphere, just as they did when they were a free nation. The prophecy, which the German Foreign Minister made on November 26, 1939, is proving true. How prophetic were his words when he said that Britain would lose her military bases one by one. The British Empire stands threatened in every quarter. The flame of British glory is flickering. Their days are numbered.

"As usual, the British have been, since the outbreak of the present hostilities, striving desperately to cajole other people into shedding their blood and supplying armaments to the British for the successful prosecution of the war. But their efforts have failed. They are facing disaster and disgrace on all fronts. The Indians have been, since September 1939 entreating the British Government to apply the principles of freedom and democracy to India, and thus give practical proof of their honesty and goodwill towards them. Some Indian nationalists even went to the extent of announcing that, should the British satisfy their national aspirations, they would be prepared to help them in this war. To this appeal British statesmen paid no heed. As a matter of fact, they never gave an unambiguous reply which would have earned the goodwill of Indians. With characteristic hypocrisy and fraud, they have again made an obscure declaration.

"Throughout their rule in India, the British have been seeking to create disunity among Indians. They have succeeded to some extent in this object, and on the plea of disunity among the various sections of the people, they have consistently refused to grant self-government to India. There is no end to British intrigues. Now they are uselessly making a lot of fuss over a possible enemy invasion of India. It has been frequently argued that India's frontiers lie on the Suez Canal and in Hong Kong. On this pretext, the British carried Indian troops to the Libyan desert and France and caused the bloodshed. In the East, the Indians were sacrificed in Hong Kong and Singapore in utter disregard of Indian wishes. Indian frontiers do not lie where Wavell has arbitrarily fixed them. This is only a mischievous invention of the British mind. India's geographical borders lie only where nature has created them. Britain, whether she is governed by Conservative or Labour leaders, like Churchill and Cripps, has been causing starvation in India. The Indians have been reduced to abject poverty. To ensure the safety of their Empire and to tighten the shackles of India's bondage, the British are demanding help and heavy sacrifices from her. They want the Indians to work like serfs and ceaselessly toil and fret for them.

"The Indians understand that they have no enemy outside the Indian frontiers. The British have not changed their

traditionally vicious policy. Indian troops are being recalled, since it is being said that the war is threatening the very gates of India. Here the question arises as to who is responsible for involving India into the war? Had not India's entry into the war been arbitrarily decided, her wealth and raw materials been tapped, her geographical situation been exploited for using her as a military base, and unlike Eire, her freedom of action been usurped, she would have never been a party to the present war. Every deceptive weapon was employed against her in order to convert her into a military base and to exact the greatest possible help from the Indians.

"Friends! the proper moment for valuing British manœuvres at their real worth and for learning the nature of their tricks has arrived. They are only anxious to spread war to India which has already been made a belligerent country. No one should be surprised to learn of these age-old British tactics, in pursuance of which they have been continuously seeking to drag other nations into their war. Wherever the situation grew critical they deserted their Allies. In other words, they have been ruthlessly and systematically bringing ruin and disaster to mankind. Right from Dunkirk upto Batavia they have caused widespread destruction. Are not you Indians still convinced of British selfishness?

"My Indian brothers, it is not worth while to hope that the British will ever be able to help you in keeping hostilities beyond the frontiers of India. Rather, they will continually undertake to destroy India, and will not desist from resorting to the 'scorched-earth' policy in your country as well. The British Empire was founded on relentless plundering of weak nations. So long as it is their power they will persist in the exploitation of subject nations. If the Indians took it to their heart that their country should be safe from danger, their first duty would be to carry out a thorough destruction of British military objectives in India, and prevent India's raw material, wealth and youth from being harnessed by the British to their war effort.

"Friends, it is crystal clear that in British decline alone lies the hope of India's independence. Every Indian who works to strengthen British hands, betrays the cause of his motherland. Such a man is a traitor to India. Whoever opposes Indian patriots and sides with the British is no better than a Mir Jafar or an Umi Chand of the present generation.

"Brothers and sisters, everyone of you should understand that to come to terms with the British, who are about to perish, is a ridiculous commitment in the eyes of the world. Churchill

has recently announced the possibility of granting Dominion Status to India as soon as it is feasible. He has commanded Cripps to go out to Indias in order to bring together the various Indian political parties, and to find out what measure of power should be granted to the Indians under the present circumstances. No sane Indian can be pleased with this latest British offer. Today, no Indian is prepared to trust empty British promises of freedom after the war. Every Indian politician knows that the British always aim at the policy of 'Divide and Rule' in India. So long as their foot remains on Indian soil they will never abandon their vicious policies. Churchill and his Government will, before long, come to realize that Indians can no longer be hoodwinked by them. Brothers and sisters, I am witnessing, with my own eyes, the downfall of the British Empire. If Cripps or any other British statesman comes out to India, the Indians cannot evince any interest in him.

"In the present world struggle one group of nations is trying to maintain the power it achieved as a sequel to the Versailles Treaty. The other group of nations is fighting with an iron will to eradicate the unhappy state of affairs looming large in the world and to establish a 'New Order'. Brothers and sisters, you stand to lose only one thing from this war, and that is your shackles. Indians cannot be satisfied by the present rotten world order. They can be happy only in a new and a better scheme of things, which will rescue them from the jaws of destruction and serfdom. This war is bound to leave the British Empire in ruins and achieve that end.

"The famous Tripartite pact has been concluded to put an end to tyrannical British imperialism. The parties to this act are our comrades. It is absolutely ridiculous to say that a combination of Axis Powers constitutes a menace to the freedom of India. The facts are quite different. I know these nations fully well, and I can assure you that they have great sympathy for the cause of our freedom. If any one is doubtful on this point, he may be reminded of the recent statement of General Tojo, the Japanese Premier. Let me hope that my compatriots will no longer entertain any doubts about their goodwill towards us and yield to false Anglo-American propaganda. Indians should be delighted with the brilliant victories which the Japanese are scoring against their enemies. The day when Justice and equality will assert themselves is not far off. When that time comes then alone will Indians be able to prosper and flourish in an atmosphere of freedom and justice.

"Long live Revolution",

3. INDICTMENT OF BRITAIN

[Speech broadcast over Berlin Radio on March 19, 1942]

"Sisters and brothers! After the fall of the island-fortress of Singapore, the other bastions of British and Allied imperialism in the Far East have been rapidly surrendering. Rangoon has now fallen, and the Burmese people can once again breathe freely as they did in the days of old, when their land glittered with golden palaces and pagodas and their rich green fields smiled in prosperity. The words of Germany's Foreign Minister, uttered on November 26, 1941, have proved to be prophetic, and Britain is losing her positions one after another. Nothing is visible on the horizon that can possibly arrest the collapse and break-up of her vast Empire. Since the beginning of the present war, Britain, in accordance with her traditions, has sought to get other peoples and nations to fight her battles and also to provide the sinews of war. But these tactics have been unavailing, and Britain has, therefore, been beaten in every major conflict, whether in the west or in the east.

"From September 1939 onwards, the Indian people have continuously appealed to the British Government to demonstrate their *bona fides* by applying the principles of freedom and democracy to India. Some nationalists have even gone so far as to offer their full support to Britain's war in the event of India's national demand being fulfilled. The only reply from the British side has been a refusal, not plain and blunt, as we would have preferred, but perfidious and hypocritical. The British, who have endeavoured to create dissensions among the Indian people throughout the period of their rule in India, have put forward these artificially engineered dissensions as an excuse for denying self-determination to India. Not content with such hypocrisy, British propagandists tried to persuade the Indian people that their country stood in danger of enemy attack, and that the frontiers of India were, therefore, at Suez and Hong Kong. On this pretext, Indian troops were forcibly sent right up to Libya and France on the West, and to Singapore and Hong Kong on the East, against the declared will of the Indian people. But as a matter of fact India has no imaginary Wavellian frontiers, she has a national geographical boundary determined by Providence and nature. It is only the British Empire that has frontiers extending from north to south and from east to west, and it is this Empire, whether ruled by a Conservative or by a Labour Cabinet, that has deprived the Indian people of life and liberty as well as bread and arms. To save such an Empire, and incidentally to ensure their own slavery, the Indian people have been asked to give their blood, toil, tears and sweat in unmeasured quantity,

though in reality India has no enemy outside her own frontiers.

"For some time past there has been a change in Britain's tactics. Indian and other troops are being sent to India and the people are being told that the war is now coming to India. But who has been moving earth and heaven to bring India into the war zone? If the British Government had not declared India a belligerent in September 1939, and had not tried by all means, fair and foul, to exploit the wealth, man-power, the raw materials and the industrial resources of India for feeding Britain's war machine; if the British Government had not converted India into a big military base, and if India had, on the contrary, been allowed to remain neutral, like Eire, there would have been no possibility of India coming within the area of the present war. But by the most cunning procedure, Britain has endeavoured to drag India into the war-zone with a view to ultimately securing India's voluntary co-operation in Britain's selfish war efforts. It is, therefore, high time that the Indian people saw through the dirty game which British politicians are now playing, namely, to bring the war into India, just as in September 1939 they were responsible for bringing India into the war.

"Such tactics, however, should not cause any surprise, because since 1939 the British have continually attempted to bring the war into other people's lands. From Norway to Crete and from Libya to Hong Kong, they have instigated and provoked other people to fight, and at the crucial hour they have themselves escaped, leaving others in the lurch as we have witnessed again and again from Dunkirk to Batavia. It is useless to expect the British to keep India out of the war-zone and out of the sufferings, misery and privation which modern war entails. In the course of military operations, they will not hesitate for one moment to apply the scorched-earth tactics to our own country. The Empire, which was born of robbery and greed and which thrives on injustice and oppression, will continue to exploit and terrorize so long as it survives. But if the Indian people want to keep their country out of the arena of war, they must themselves remove Britain's military bases from India, and put an end to Britain's exploitation of India for imperialist war purposes.

"The victory of the British Empire will mean the perpetuation of our own slavery, and only through the complete overthrow of that Empire is India's emancipation possible. Consequently, any Indian who now works for Britain acts against the best interests of his country and is a traitor to the cause of liberty. Indian nationalists will have to fight not

only their imperialist rulers, but also the lackeys of British Imperialism, the Mir Jaffars and Umi Chands of today, and to everybody it should be clear as daylight that to think of compromise with an Empire that will soon disappear is not only futile but ridiculous.

"The British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, has in his recent utterance before Parliament promised Dominion Status to India as soon as possible after the war is over. Under his mandate, Sir Stafford Cripps is to visit India in order to bring about an agreement between the different sections of the people, and to decide what political concessions should be granted at present. Only one who lives in a fool's paradise could imagine that India still cares for Dominion Status within the Empire, and that a single Indian could be found who still has the least faith in British promises which are to be redeemed after the termination of the war. People in India know full well that the much-advertised and so-called dissensions are an artificial creation, and that as long as the British remain in India they will continue their nefarious policy of 'divide and rule'. Mr. Churchill and his Cabinet will soon realize that political promises thrown at the Indian people from Westminster will not bring them over to the British side. The British Empire is going the way of all other Empires of the past, and out of its ashes will rise a free and united India. The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps or of any other British politician at this late hour is, therefore, of no consequence to India, and will not arouse interest in that country.

"In the present Armageddon, therefore, is a desperate attempt on the one side to maintain the *status quo* that has sprung out of the Treaty of Versailles and similar treaties of the past, while on the other, there is the determination to destroy the old order and usher in a new one. In such a conflict, India has nothing to lose but her chains, and the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people can be fulfilled not through the maintenance, but only through the destruction of the old order—which signifies for them humiliation, slavery and death.

"Taking a bird's eye view of modern history, I feel convinced that as the last World War led to the dissolution of some old and decadent empires, so will this War culminate in the dismemberment of the British Empire, the last anachronism in modern politics. The Tripartite Powers—Germany, Italy and Japan—through whom this consummation will be brought about, are accordingly our natural friends and allies. It is the blackest lie to say that these Powers constitute a menace to India... From my intimate knowledge of these

three nations, I can assert on the contrary that they have nothing but sympathy and goodwill for India and for Indian independence. If ever there was any doubt on this point, the recent historic declaration of the Prime Minister of Japan, General Tojo, should reassure my countrymen once for all, and no Indian should in future allow himself to be duped by British propaganda. Let us, therefore, rejoice that under the simultaneous blows of the Tripartite Powers, the British Empire, our eternal foe, is fast crumbling. Let us rejoice over the rapid and victorious advance of the Japanese forces in the Far East. Let us rejoice that the old order which was set up at Versailles is crashing before our very eyes, and let us rejoice over the coming dawn, which will bring for India freedom and justice, happiness and prosperity.

"Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad !"

4. CRIPPS' IMPERIALIST HYPOCRISY

*[Broadcast over AZAD HIND RADIO (Germany)
on March 25, 1942.]*

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose, who is still alive, speaking to you over the 'Azad Hind' radio. British news agencies have spread all over the world the report that I had died in an aeroplane crash on my way to Tokyo to attend an important conference there. Ever since I left India last year, British propaganda agencies have from time to time given contradictory reports of my whereabouts, while newspapers in England have not hesitated to use uncomplimentary language about myself. The latest report about my death is perhaps an instance of wishful thinking. I can imagine that the British Government would, at this critical hour in India's history, like to see me dead since they are now trying their level best to win India over to their side for the purpose of their imperialistic war.

"I have not before me at the present moment the full particulars of the aeroplane disaster referred to above. I cannot, therefore, say if it was the result of sabotage on the part of our enemy. In any case, I beg to offer my respectful homage to the memory of those who lost their lives in that tragic event. Their names will be written in letters of gold in the history of our struggle for independence. They were the national heroes of India.

"I have considered very carefully the offer of the British Government to India and the radio speech of Sir Stafford

Cripps in that connection. I feel perfectly convinced that it is now quite clear that Sir Stafford has gone to India to try the age-long policy of British imperialism—"divide and rule". Many people in India did not expect Sir Stafford Cripps to play a role which might very well have been reserved for a Conservative politician like Mr. Amery. Sir Stafford has himself assured us that the terms offered to India are, in his opinion, the soundest and the best, and that the members of the British Cabinet were all unanimous over these proposals.

"This affords one further proof that, in Britain, all party differences disappear when the question of India comes up. Sir Stafford has told us that India is a sub-continent inhabited by many races and peoples. I would like to remind him that India was unified under the empire of Ashoka the Great, several centuries before the Christian era—more than 1,000 years before England was unified.

"Britain has, in other parts of her Empire, for instance in Ireland and Palestine, used the religious issue in order to divide the people. She has been utilizing in India for that same purpose not only this issue but other imperial weapons like the Indian Princes, Depressed Classes, etc. Now Sir Stafford is in India to use the same instrument for imperialistic ends. It is no less striking that Sir Stafford is applying the old imperialist policy of working for a compromise with one section of the people while simultaneously suppressing the other. That is why on the one side Sir Stafford is conferring with one set of politicians, while on the other the fearless and uncompromising fighters for independence are safely lodged behind prison bars. The Indian people are fully aware of this nefarious policy of British politicians. I have no doubt that the spirit of our freedom-fighters will hurl down the prison walls and inspire the people of India to know that this is an insult to India's self-respect and honour.

"As the London paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, has remarked, Sir Stafford's proposals contain nothing that is fundamentally new. The essence is Dominion Status within the Empire, which will be realized only when the war is over. But, according to the terms of the offer, the speech of Sir Stafford Cripps and the comments of English papers like the *Manchester Guardian*, it is quite clear that the real intention of the British Government is to split India into a number of States, just as Ireland was split up at the end of the last war. I am doubtful whether India will even look at such an offer. Indians are by nature hospitable, and Sir Stafford will be committing a grievous mistake if he interpreted such hospitality to mean the acceptance of his offer.

"Sir Stafford reached the height of imperialist hypocrisy

when, at a press conference at Delhi, he remarked that Indians have not been able to produce an agreed constitution. But the Indian people know from their own bitter experience that only the British Government is responsible for the corruption and bribery in India. The Indian people are, therefore, convinced that they can no longer hope to win their freedom by discussion or argument, propaganda and passive resistance, but must now resort to other methods that are more effective and powerful.

"Sir Stafford also mentioned that while the war is going on, a new constitution cannot be framed for India, and hence the inauguration of Dominion Status will begin on the termination of the war. I may remind Sir Stafford Cripps that, as early as October 1939, I replied to the British Government by suggesting that a Provisional National Government, commanding the confidence of the majority of the people, should be set up at once. This Provisional National Government could be made responsible to the present Indian Legislative Assembly. In other words, this Provisional National Government could be made responsible to the elected members of the Indian Assembly. This suggestion was first of all put forward by me on behalf of the Forward Bloc of the Congress, and it being practicable and reasonable, the official Congress Committee also adopted it as their own demand. The fact, however, is that the British Government is not ready to part with power at the present moment. By raising the issue of the minorities or of the Princes or of the so-called Depressed Classes they can at any time find a plea that Indians are not united. Sir Stafford must be living in a fool's paradise if he thinks that, by offering such hopeless offers, he can satisfy India's hunger for freedom. In the last World War, with the help of India, the war was won by England, but India's reward was further suppression and massacre. India has not forgotten those episodes, and she will see also that the present golden opportunity is not lost.

"Since the beginning of this century, the British Government has been using another organization as a counterblast to the Congress in order to reject its demands. She has been using the Muslim League for this purpose, because that party is regarded as pro-British in its outlook. In fact, British propaganda has tried to create the impression that the Muslim League is almost as influential a body as the Congress, and that it represents the majority of India's Muslims. This, however, is far from the truth. In reality there are several influential and important Muslim organizations which are thoroughly nationalist. Moreover out of the 11 provinces in British India out of which only 4 have a majority of Muslims, only one,

the Punjab, has a Cabinet which may be regarded as a Muslim League Cabinet. But even the Punjab Premier is strongly opposed to the main programme of the Muslim League, namely the division of India. Consequently, it seems that the Muslim League only commands a majority in a single province of India. But even then it is said that the majority of the Muslims will not stand for Indian independence.

"As far as the defence of India is concerned, it is stated in the British proposals that, so long as the war lasts, the full military control of India will be directly in the hands of Britain, not even in the hands of the Viceroy or the Commander-in-Chief in India. By this policy, Britain wants to achieve a two-fold purpose. She desires, on the one hand, to utilize to the fullest extent India's resources for the whole Empire, and, on the other, to force thereby the enemies of Britain to attack Britain's military base in India, so that the Indian people may be provoked into voluntarily entering the war as Britain's ally. I would like to affirm, with all the emphasis at my command, that all the pro-British Indians who are participating in Britain's war will alone be responsible if the war came ultimately to India. I would like further to warn my countrymen that Britain's sole object now is to drag the Indian people into the war. It has been a successful game of the British people to get other nations involved in the war. Up to the present time they have been carrying out glorious retreats and successful evacuations. Recently they have adopted a novel policy of burning and destroying everything before taking to their heels. If the British Government apply these scorched-earth tactics to their own country, that is no concern of ours. But I have every reason to believe that they have decided to apply these scorched-earth tactics in Ceylon and India, should the war come there. Therefore, participation in Britain's war will not only hinder Britain's defeat and overthrow, but will also delay the attainment of independence for Indians."

5. OPEN LETTER TO CRIPPS

[Broadcast over Azad Radio (Germany) on March 31, 1942]

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking. I shall now address an open letter to Sir Stafford Cripps, in English.

"Dear Sir Stafford Cripps,

The world has been told that you have undertaken a mission on behalf of the British Prime Minister and the Cabinet to go to India and try to save India for the British Empire. It is understandable that the present Prime Minister and the

Cabinet should make use of you for this purpose. But it passes one's comprehension that you, Sir Stafford, should accept such a job. You are well aware of the reactionary character of the present Cabinet. The presence of Labourites in it does not alter its real character. Having been forced to keep company with the Labour Party some years ago, you perhaps know more than anybody how unprogressive that party is, particularly on questions dealing with India and other suppressed nations of the Empire. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's National Cabinet could at least claim to have Labour support, but even that is lacking in the present Cabinet.

"In the days when you fought with the British Labour Party in vindication of your own principles and convictions, you commanded the admiration of many people including myself. You have been so anti-Imperialist in your outlook that you even advocated the abolition of the monarchy which has served as the corner-stone of British Imperialism. That fundamental position of yours has altered so radically that you accepted a portfolio under Mr. Winston Churchill, than whom a more anti-Indian Englishman it is difficult to find in the whole of Britain. People who know you personally, or who have followed your career with interest, are consequently quite puzzled at your present political stand. One can easily understand Mr. Churchill. He is an imperialist, believing in the policy of brute force and he makes no bones about it. Even the British Labour Party's attitude we can perhaps understand. British Labour leaders are in reality as Imperialistic as the Conservatives are, though they may talk in a more polite and seductive manner. We have faced the Labour Party's administration in 1924 and again from 1929 to 1931.

"On both these occasions we had to spend our time in British prisons, sometimes without any trial whatsoever. India will never forget that between 1929 and 1931 a Labour Cabinet was responsible for putting about 100,000 men and women into prison, for ordering large-scale lathi charges on men and women all over the country, for shooting down of defenceless crowds as in Peshawar, and for burning houses and dishonouring women as in the villages of Bengal. You were one of the sharpest critics of the Labour Party when in London in January 1938, I had the pleasure of making your acquaintance. But today you appear to be quite a different man.

"You may perhaps say that your task is to bring about a reconciliation between India and England. But your Cabinet has made it perfectly clear that the offer to India is not one of independence but of Dominion Status within the Empire, and further, that Dominion Status will be promulgated not im-

mediately but at the end of the war. You have just declared in Delhi that your attitude towards India is the same as that of Mr. Churchill. We are grateful to you for such frankness, but are you not aware what the Indian people think of British promises? Are you not also aware that the history of British rule in India is a history of broken pledges and unredeemed promises? And knowing as you do that the Indian National Congress stands for undiluted independence is it not an insult to India that a man of your position and reputation should go out there with such an offer in his pocket? Another matter which has pained all patriotic Indians is that your programme is to get into touch with leaders of all possible parties in India, no matter whether they are representatives of the masses or individuals. You at least should be aware that some of these parties have so far been used by British politicians as a counter-blast to the Congress and in order to minimize its influence and importance. It is also surprising that you are reassuring the Princes that they have nothing to fear from the coming changes. Your work in respect of the Princes was already taken in hand by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, in anticipation of your arrival. To a neutral observer therefore, your role appears to be the same historic role of deceit and duplicity which British politicians have played in the past.

At the beginning of this war British politicians talked very loudly of freedom and democracy. At the same time, they have been bolstering up the claims of minorities in order to exaggerate India's differences, and thereby keep India under perpetual domination. The minorities problem is not something peculiar to India, it is to be found all the world over. If British politicians really believe in democracy why don't they apply the democratic solution to India and solve the Indian problem? British politicians and the British propaganda machine have been continually reminding us since 1939 that the Axis Powers are a menace to India and now we are being told that India is in danger of an attack by the enemy. But is not this sheer hypocrisy? India has no enemies outside her own frontiers. Her one enemy is British imperialism and the only adversary that India has to get rid of is the perpetual aggression of British imperialism. It was the British Government that declared India to be a belligerent power against the will of the Indian people and have since then been forcibly exploiting the resources of India for Britain's war purposes. Further, it was the same Government that interned and imprisoned in India the nationals of Germany, Italy and Japan after the outbreak of war. The Axis Powers and the Indian people realize that they are not at war with one another, and the former

have not, therefore, imprisoned Indian nationals living in their countries, and have nothing but sympathy and goodwill for them. I am convinced that if India does not participate in Britain's war there is not the least possibility of India being attacked by any of the Axis Powers."

6. THANK YOU JAPAN!

[Broadcast over Azad Hind Radio (Germany) on April 6, 1942]

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking to you over the 'Azad Hind Radio' in reply to the historic declaration of the Prime Minister of Japan.

"His Excellency the Prime Minister of Japan, General Tojo, has, after the fall of Singapore and of Rangoon, made two historic pronouncements on the Indian problem.* These declarations are of such great significance that it is necessary for India to speak in reply what her attitude is. On behalf of all freedom-loving Indians in India and abroad, I offer my sincere thanks to the Japanese Prime Minister for his outspoken sympathy for Indian independence. The slogan he has uttered, 'India for the Indians', will go down in history as the prophetic utterance of a far-seeing statesman. Ever since the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905, the Indian people have looked upon the awakening in Japan with admiration. It was through Japan that Asia first asserted her self-respect and honour. A strong Japan, therefore, is in the best interests of Asia.

"I welcome most heartily the statement of His Excellency the Prime Minister that Japan is determined to destroy completely the influence of Anglo-American imperialism in the East. Until this is done, Asia will be under a perpetual danger. Asia, and particularly India, will be for ever grateful to the Tripartite Powers if they can dispose of this menace once for all. The present war which the Tripartite Powers are waging against Britain and America, is of vital interest to India, and the Indian people are, therefore, following with joy and satisfaction the continued defeats of the Anglo-American forces.

"It will be wrong for me to ignore the fact that there is a certain section among the Indian people that is, for some reason or other, on the side of Britain. This is but natural in a country that has been so long under a foreign yoke. But I may say without the slightest exaggeration that the vast majority of

*See Appendix for texts of these two pronouncements.

the Indian people are burning with the desire to break their shackles of bondage. For them this war is a God-sent opportunity for realizing their long-cherished aspirations and achieve independence.

"The people of India remember quite clearly how they were deceived and betrayed by British politicians during the last World War. They have no desire to repeat that experience. They know that British rule in India has been one long record of broken pledges and unredeemed promises. They have, therefore, resolved to liquidate once for all the British regime in India, which was born of robbery and corruption and which has thrived on injustice and oppression.

"I can assure His Excellency the Prime Minister that India will not miss this golden opportunity, which is indeed rare in the lifetime of a nation. The Indian people are today fully conscious of the two factors that are primarily responsible for her servitude and her isolation from the rest of the world and her internal disunity. This lesson, which they have learnt from bitter and painful experience, they will never forget. As in the old days, when India was a free, proud and progressive nation, so also in future will the Indian people live in the closest friendship with all the other nations of the world, and in particular with the Tripartite Powers, and thereby contribute to the common culture and civilization of humanity, and it will be an honour and privilege for India to co-operate intimately with Japan in the noble task of creating a great Asia that will be free, happy and prosperous."

"Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!"

7. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA

[Broadcast over Azad Hind Radio (Germany)
on April 10, 1942]

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking to you over the 'Azad Hind Radio' on the political situation in India. Sisters and brothers! it is rather painful to hear that even after the reactionary and monstrous character of the British proposals for India, it seems to the world that some of our countrymen are still carrying on laboured discussion with Mr. Winston Churchill's envoy in India, Sir Stafford Cripps.

"Isolated from the military frontiers of India and poisoned by British propaganda, some of our people at home may not realise for the moment that the British Empire is now breaking up and that it will soon disappear from the face of the earth,

Consequently, even if the British were to offer to India terms that are far more conciliatory than the present British proposals there is no meaning in entering into a compromise with such a power. There is no Indian today who has the least faith in British promises which are to be fulfilled at the end of the war. In the face of these difficulties, some of our liberal friends have endeavoured to facilitate a compromise by suggesting that the Governments of the Allied Powers and of the British Dominions should guarantee to India that Britain's promises will be redeemed when the war is over. But what value is there in such guarantees when we have no power to enforce their fulfilment? Have we forgotten what happened to President Wilson's 14 points? Have we forgotten that President Roosevelt's envoy, Ronald Donovan, travelled all over the Balkans with letters from the President in his pocket urging the Balkan countries to declare war on the Axis Powers? And have we forgotten that all these countries that were provoked and instigated into joining in the war were ultimately left to their fate by the all-promising President when the Axis forces overpowered them? I am sure that even if some people are still blind the vast majority of our countrymen realise that the United States of America are playing a role of father to the insane and they regard themselves as the heirs of the British Empire that has gone into compulsory liquidation. It is comical to see men who have been and still are slaves of the British appointing themselves saviours of the British Empire. But no power on earth can save that Empire which is now going the way of all other Empires of the past. Even if India were to fight for Britain to the last man with all her resources the overthrow of the latter cannot possibly be averted. Britain has to reap the unavoidable fruits of her past policy in keeping India enslaved and impoverished. And even if a National Government were to be set up in India tomorrow it could not possibly build up and equip a modern army during the course of the present war. Is it not then typical that the Indian saviours of British Imperialism are the men who regard themselves as the National democrats. These estimable gentlemen gave their lives in the past for the glory of British Imperialism. It is because they are lionized by the wily British that they conveniently forget that India today lies under the heel of Britain. They talk of lining up with the progressive forces of the world. They do not talk frankly of co-operating with Britain but camouflage their real motives by asking the Indian people to co-operate with China or Russia or America. But, such camouflage cannot deceive the Indian people who are fully aware that the British Empire is by no means democratic. I consider it my duty to warn my country.

men that in the present crisis which faces India compromise-hunting is like war-mongering. The British have been using India as their military base partly because they want to provoke the Tripartite Powers into attacking India so that the Indian people may be ultimately persuaded to fight with Britain. The Tripartite Powers, on their part, have openly declared their sympathy for Indian Independence. They have no desire whatsoever of attacking India just as they have no intention of attacking peaceful Ireland. Their only interest is to destroy Britain's military base in India without which the war cannot be brought to a victorious conclusion.

To make a compromise with England now, on the basis of co-operation in Britain's war effort, is converting India into an enemy of the Tripartite Powers and forcing these powers to attack not only Britain's military base in India but all those Indians who co-operate in Britain's war effort. Do those who are now seeking a compromise with Britain realise that they are really working for bringing the war into India? The immediate effect of a compromise will be bringing the war to Indian soil and the destruction of India's wealth and resources and the retarding of India's freedom. It will mean the immediate declaration of war on the Tripartite Powers by the compromise hunters in India and it will mean bearing England's imminent defeat and all the hate and humiliation that it will imply.

When the British flee the country on the eve of their defeat, just as General MacArthur and General Wavell have done elsewhere, they will burn and destroy everything in accordance with their new fangled scorched-earth policy. When India is not in the warzone why are the British acting as war-mongers? Not only will the people have to experience the horrors of war at home but they will be fighting a war which can only end in abject defeat. Our countrymen will easily realize from a glance at a map how precarious Britain's position is today. Britain has been expelled from Europe. In Africa, after her preliminary victories, she is now on the retreat. In the Near and Middle East, which she had until now held in subjugation, is like a powder magazine and only a spark is needed for an explosion. In the Far East, she has been liquidated and kicked out from everywhere by the Japanese. Her only hope is, therefore, India, and that is why Sir Stafford Cripps is today at our door-steps. But, India cannot save the Empire from its inevitable doom. She can either go down with that Empire or maintain her neutrality. If Sir Stafford Cripps claims to be a friend of India the best service he can now render is to keep India out of this war. India will then be able to look after herself and enjoy independence. The British have at long last realised that they do not any more enjoy complete authority

in India, that is why they commandeered the services of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and that is why Mr. Louis Johnson has been rushed to India carrying letters from the White House in his pocket. The Americans are warning the Indian people what dire disaster will overtake them if they do not respond to the offers made by Mr. Winston Churchill and Washington. I appeal to my countrymen not to be duped by British propaganda any longer. It will be the biggest disaster for India if they fall into the trap laid by Allied politicians. Our first duty is to prevent our land becoming the next theatre of war and we can do so only by refusing to co-operate in Britain's imperialist war. I can assert with a full sense of responsibility that if India is not used as a military base for Britain there is not the slightest possibility of India being attacked by the Tripartite Powers. My next appeal to my countrymen is that after keeping the war out of India, they should without the least delay renew the national struggle for independence in a more intensified way. Britain has turned down India's demand for immediate independence and it is now for India to fight for her own freedom. What better opportunity can one dream of for achieving India's emancipation ?

"In conclusion I want to tell my countrymen that we, who happen to be outside India, have not been idle all these months. We have been following the international situation with the closest interest and have also been preparing ourselves for the coming struggle—the final struggle which will bring India to her cherished goal of liberty and freedom. We are aware that British sea-power, on which the Empire was built, has already become a legend of the past. We are aware that Britain has neither the air force nor the manpower for holding India against the Japanese. It is, therefore, clear that we shall have to march to India in order to participate in the last struggle for our national freedom. We will fight with all our might and all our resources ; and with God's grace and the help of friends win our freedom".

8. THE AXIS POWERS AND INDIA

[Broadcast from BERLIN on May 1, 1942]

"Brothers and sisters, I addressed you last on the occasion of the 'Jalianwala Bagh Day' nearly three weeks ago and I then reminded you once again of the hypocrisy underlying the whole plan of the British Government which culminated in the journey of Sir Stafford Cripps to India. Sir Stafford offered, on the one hand, a promise of Dominion Status for the future, and, on

the other, he demanded the immediate co-operation in Britain's war effort and he expected the Indian people to accept such an absurd proposition. Rightly enough the contemptible offer of the British was rejected unconditionally and this was a matter of joy and happiness to Indians in every part of the world. I must, however, state that it was a painful surprise to find that after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India and despite the refusal of the British Government to concede India's national demand, some prominent countrymen of ours have begun to publicly advocate a policy which amounts to unconditional co-operation with Britain in the war effort.

"Is human memory so short that these gentlemen have forgotten the resolutions of the Indian National Congress from 1927 to 1938, which deal with the war? Did we not reaffirm year after year from 1927 to 1938 that when the next war comes we shall refuse to participate in it and that we shall resist every attempt on the part of the British Government to drag India into that war? In September 1939, when the present war broke out, did not the Indian National Congress deliberately refuse to render unconditional co-operation to the British Government? And, did not the Congress take disciplinary action against an expel from its ranks such a prominent leader as Mr. M. N. Roy for the crime of advocating unconditional co-operation with the British Government? We are, therefore, awaiting to see what disciplinary action will be taken against these gentlemen who are so unceremoniously flouting the principle of the Congress. I also know that these new converts to the creed of co-operation will assert that they altered their principle and policy in order to meet a new menace, the menace of aggression from without. But I would like to ask them if the aggression against which the Indian people have been fighting so long, the perpetual aggression of British Imperialism, has been successfully fought and destroyed. In spite of all that British propaganda has been saying or may say in future, it should be clear to all right thinking Indians that in this world India has but one enemy, the enemy which has robbed her of her freedom, that enemy which has been exploiting her for years and years and that enemy is British Imperialism. It is a tragedy that some of our countrymen have been so duped by British propaganda that they have forgotten the real enemy, India's one and only enemy, that keeps India enslaved even now. These misguided people talk of aggression by Japan or Germany or Italy without knowing at first hand what policy these powers have with regard to India.

"Friends, I know something about these powers and their foreign policy. I have been in intimate and personal contact with them ever since I left my home more than a year ago and

I can assure you with all seriousness and sincerity that these three Powers want to see India fully independent and mistress of her own destiny. The three Powers are determined to defeat and destroy British Imperialism. It is the task of the rising generation of the Indian people, in whose hands rests the future of their country, to utilise the present international crisis to the fullest extent, so that out of the ashes of the British Empire may rise a free and liberated India. I am not an apologist of the three Powers and it is not my task to defend what they have done or may do in future. That is a task which devolves on these nations themselves and they are quite able to deal with it. My concern, however, is with India; and it is my duty as a patriotic Indian to find out and tell my countrymen the policy of the different powers with regard to India. If British Imperialism is defeated and annihilated, India will win her freedom. If on the other hand, British Imperialism were somehow to win the war which, however, is quite impossible, then India's slavery will be perpetuated for ever. India is, therefore, presented with the choice between freedom and slavery and she must take her choice in favour of freedom. For the Indians of today, it is the chance of a life-time and for India it is an opportunity rare in human history.

"Friends, I laugh whenever I hear Britain's propagandists calling me an enemy agent. I need no credentials when I speak to my own people. My whole life, which has been one long, consistent and continuous record of uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, is the best guarantee of my *bona fides*. Perhaps better than any other Indian today, I know foreign politics and I have known Britishers from my childhood. All my life I have been a servant of India and in the last hours of my life I shall remain so. My allegiance and loyalty has ever been and will be to India and to India alone. British propagandists, who have been well silenced by Prime Minister Tojo's historical declaration of 'India for the Indians' have now fallen back on their last argument, which is drawn from the Sino-Japanese struggle. They are now shouting from the house-tops 'see what the Japanese have done in China.' I may tell these propagandists, both British and Indian, that when I was the President of the Indian National Congress I was responsible for giving effect to the Congress resolution to send a goodwill mission to China. Those were the days when Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was fighting for his national principles and that was why he could win the sympathy of Indians in an overwhelming degree. But the Marshal, who came to India the other day to ask the Indian people to fight for England, was quite a different man, a puppet of the Anglo-American Powers. And, the Japan that the

Marshal is now fighting is quite a different Japan, a Japan that is at war with Britain and America, Japan that is determined to annihilate Anglo-American Imperialism in the East, a Japan with whom Marshal Chiang Kai-shek can come to an honourable understanding today if he can extricate himself from the grips of his Anglo-American masters.

9. COUNTRYMEN! KEEP FIGHTING

*[Broadcast over AZAD HIND RADIO (Germany)
on August 31, 1942]*

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking to you over the Azad Hind Radio.

"Comrades! Since I spoke to you last, about two weeks ago, the movement in India has been continuing with unabated vigour, and has been spreading like wild-fire from the towns to the country-side. The British propaganda machinery throughout the month has tried to give the impression that the campaign is now subsiding and that things are quietening down. But this attempt has completely failed, because in the same breath the B. B. C. and its agents have given, or rather have been forced to give, news of more shooting on unarmed men and women all over the country. I can assure you that in the year of grace 1942, India can no longer be isolated from the rest of the world, however much Britain may try to draw a veil over that land. As a matter of fact, every bit of news regarding India's national struggle, every incident in Indian towns and villages, every case of shooting, whether in Ramnath or in Wardha, in Bikrampore or in Lucknow, is immediately flashed all over the world, is broadcast over the radio and published in the Press in all those countries that are either hostile to the Allied Powers or are neutral. Comrades, I know very well how in all the previous campaigns we were hard put to it to inform the outside world about the happenings in India and about the atrocities committed by British imperialists. Today, the problem does not exist, and it is my pleasant task to keep the outside world informed about all events in India and to secure all the sympathy and help that India may need in her hour of trial. If today you could see with your own eyes and hear with your own ears all that is being propagated by your friends abroad about India's epic struggle, you would realize the measure of sympathy that India is receiving from the enemies of British imperialism. And, this sympathy for India is bound to grow in volume and intensity as British terror and brutality increases. The

more we suffer and the more we sacrifice in the pursuit of our national freedom, the more will India's prestige go up in the eyes of the world.

"Comrades, I should like to tell you further that while we have gained the moral sympathies of public opinion throughout the world, it is also possible for us to obtain from abroad any help that we may need for our emancipation. Therefore, in the fight against all the modern forms of terror and brutality, if you feel overwhelmed at any time and if you desire your friends abroad to give you the hand of assistance, you have only to say so. But, these friends who are anxious to see India free, will not offer their help to you, so long as you do not need it, and for our national honour and self-interest, we should not ask for any assistance so long as we can do without it. In this connection, I would appeal to you once again, to fully trust your countrymen abroad who are working heart and soul with you for the speedy liberation of India. We are today the custodians of India's national honour, the 'unofficial ambassadors' of free India. As at home, so also abroad, we stand always for Independence, and we shall never permit vital encroachments on our national sovereignty by any foreign power. Do not be carried away by ideological considerations; do not bother about the internal politics of other countries, which is no concern of ours. Believe me when I say that the enemies of British imperialism are our friends and allies. It is to their interest to see the British Empire broken up, and India is once again free. And they know very well that so long as India remains under the British yoke, there can be no victory for them and there can be no peace. In the political field, I should be the last man to expect foreign Powers to sympathize with us if it were not in their own interest to do so.

"Comrades, you must have observed how during the last few months the British Empire has been passing through its darkest hours. Gone are the days when London was the metropolis of the world. Gone are the days when kings and statesmen had to wend their way to London in order to have their problems solved. Gone are the days when the American President had to come to Europe to meet the British Prime Minister. As the English poet, Tennyson, has himself said, "The old order changes yielding place to new, and God fulfils himself in many ways". Consequently, the British Prime Minister has now to run to New York and Washington and Americans in Britain are declared to be outside the jurisdiction of British laws, and American officers have refused command of British forces in many theatres of war. Thus, Britain and her Empire are fast

becoming a colony of Roosevelt's 'New Empire'. But India has no desire to remain in the Old Empire, and she must therefore, now fight both the old imperialism as well as the new. The most interesting phase of the metamorphosis that has overtaken the British Empire is the fact that the High Priest of Imperialism, the arch-enemy of Indian nationalism, the sworn opponent of all forms of Socialism, the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, has had to swallow all his former imperialist pride and present himself at the gates of the Kremlin in Moscow.

"Is it not significant that in his desperation this representative of British imperialism should do everything else, but under no circumstances will he think of recognizing India's independence? India is the jewel of the British Empire, and in order to do everything possible to keep this jewel, the British people will fight to the last. The Indian people, therefore, and particularly the leaders, should banish all hopes that Britain will accede to India's demands, and should carry on the struggle till the last Britisher is expelled from India. In the last days of our campaign there will be much suffering and sorrow, much persecution and slaughter, much suppression and massacre. But that is the price of liberty and it has to be paid. It is but natural that in its last hours the British lion will bite hard, but it is after all the bite of a dying lion, and we shall survive it.

Comrades, in this critical hour our strategy should consist in continuing the fight for our independence regardless of the consequences. The British Empire will soon collapse and break up as a result of shattering defeats in all the theatres of war. And when the final dismemberment of the Empire takes place power will automatically come into the hands of the Indian people. Our final victory will come as a result of our efforts alone. Consequently, it does not matter in the least if we in India suffer temporary set-backs, specially when we are confronted with machine-guns, bombs, tanks and aeroplanes. Our task is to continue the national struggle inspite of all obstacles and set-backs till the hour of liberation arrives.

"There is no cause to be depressed because the leaders are imprisoned. On the contrary, their sufferings will serve as a perpetual inspiration to the entire nation. I have been offering during the last 20 years to conduct the campaign even when all the men are in prison. Moreover, those who are now away from the field of action have given you the plan that has to be executed by you now.

"Comrades, I have already assured you that whatever I have been doing abroad is in accordance with the wishes

of a very large section of my countrymen. I will not do anything which the whole India will not wholeheartedly endorse. Ever since I left home I have remained in intimate contact with my countrymen at home through more channels than one, in spite of all the efforts of the Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India and the British Secret Service. During the last few months you have had proof of my close contact with my countrymen in India and many of you know by now how you can communicate with me whenever you so desire. I may now tell you that it is no longer possible for the British to prevent my going to India or getting out whenever I wish to do so. I have seen some of the secret reports of the Government of India regarding the "Azad Hind Radio" and myself, and they have made me laugh. If the British authorities think that they know all about me I am blown, but I shall one day be able to give them the fight of their lives. There is no harm if I also inform the British Government in this connection that the tactics they have been using in enemy countries have been carefully studied by our men, and they have been found to be extremely useful in our fight against our old enemy, British imperialism.

Comrades, at the present moment all the countries that are being suppressed or dominated by Britain are either in a state of revolt or are preparing for one. If we in India continue our struggle we shall not only effect our emancipation speedily, but will also expedite the liberation of all countries exploited and dominated by Britain. On the other hand, if the Indian people remain inactive, the enemies of Britain will take the initiative in expelling the British from India. The British Empire is in any case doomed, and the only question is as to what will happen to us when its final dissolution takes place. Shall we obtain our freedom as a right from other Powers or shall we win it by our own effort? I would request Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Savarkar and all those leaders who still think of a compromise with the British to realize once for all that in the world of tomorrow there will be no British Empire. All those individuals, groups or parties who now participate in the fight for freedom will have an honoured place in the India of tomorrow. The supporters of British imperialism will naturally become nonentities in a free India. In this connection I will appeal earnestly to all parties and groups to consider this and to think in terms of nationalism and anti-imperialism, and to come forward and join the epic struggle that is going on now. I appeal to the progressive elements of the Muslim League, with some of whom I have had the privilege of co-operating in the work of the Calcutta Corporation in 1940.

I appeal to the brave *Majlis-i-Ahrar*, the nationalist Muslim Party of India, that started the Civil Disobedience campaign in 1939 against Britain's war effort before any other party did so. I appeal to the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*, the old representative organization of the Ulemas or the Muslim divines of India, led by that distinguished patriot and leader Mufti Khifayat Ullah. I appeal to the Azad (Independent) Muslim League, another important organization of the nationalist Muslims of India. I appeal to the *Akali Dal*, the leading nationalist Sikh party of India. And last but not the least I appeal to the *Praja Party* of Bengal, which commands the confidence of that Province, and is led by well-known patriots. I have no doubt that if all these organizations join in this struggle the day of India's liberation will be drawn nearer.

"The campaign that is now going on in India may be described as a non-violent guerrilla warfare. In this guerrilla war the tactics of dispersal have to be employed. In other words, we should spread out our activities all over the country so that the British police and military may not be able to concentrate their attack on one point. In accordance with the principles of guerrilla war, we should also be as mobile as possible and should move continuously from place to place. The authorities should never be able to predict where our activities will emerge next. Friends, as you know already, I have been through all the campaigns between 1921 and 1940, and I know the causes of their failure. I have now had the opportunity of taking expert advice with regard to the tactics of guerrilla warfare, and I am in a position to offer you some suggestions as to how this present campaign should be brought to a victorious end. The object of this non-violent guerrilla campaign should be a two-fold one. Firstly, to destroy war production in India, and, secondly, to paralyse the British administration in that country. Keeping these objects in view, every section of the community should participate in the struggle. Firstly, stop paying all taxes that directly or indirectly bring revenue to the Government. Secondly, workers in all industries should either launch a 'stay-in' strike or try to hamper production by conducting a 'go slow' campaign inside the factories. They should also carry out sabotage with such methods as the removing of nuts and bolts in order to impede production. Thirdly, students should organize secret guerrilla bands for carrying on sabotage in different parts of the country. They should also invent new ways of annoying the British authorities, for example, burning stamps, etc., in post offices, destroying British monuments, etc. Fourthly, women, and especially girl students, should do underground

work of all kinds especially as secret messengers or to provide shelter for the men who fight. Fifthly, Government officials, who are prepared to help the campaign, should not resign their posts but those in Government offices and in war industries should give all available information to fighters outside, and should try to hamper production by working inefficiently. Sixthly, servants, who are working in the houses of Britishers, should be organized for the purpose of giving trouble to their masters, for example by demanding higher salaries, cooking and serving bad food and drinks, etc. Seventhly, Indians should give up all business with banks, firms, insurance companies, etc. Eighthly, listen to the broadcasts of Col. Britton in the European Service of the B.B.C. and apply the Colonel's tactics to the Indian situation.

"For the general public I also suggest the following activities :—

- (a) Boycott of British goods, including burning of British stalls and Government stores.
- (b) Total boycott of all Britishers in India, and of those Indians who are pro-British.
- (c) Holding of Public meetings and demonstration in spite of official prohibition.
- (d) Publishing of secret bulletins, and setting up of secret radio station.
- (e) Marching to the houses of British Government officials and demanding their departure from India.
- (f) Organizing of processions for entering and occupying Government offices, Secretariat buildings, law courts, etc., with a view to hampering the administration.
- (g) Arranging to punish police officers and prison officials who oppress and persecute the people.
- (h) Begin erecting barricades in the streets where there is a likelihood of attack from the police and the military.
- (i) Setting fire to Government offices and factories which are working for war purposes.
- (j) Interrupting postal, telegraph and telephone communication as frequently as possible and in different places.
- (k) Interrupting railway, bus and tram services, whenever there is a possibility of hampering the transport of soldiers or of war material.

(l) Destroying police stations, railway stations and jails in isolated places.

"Comrades, I can assure you, that as soon as this programme is put into operation, the administrative machinery can be brought to a stand still. In this connection, I must remind you that in a non-violent guerrilla campaign the peasantry always plays a decisive part. I am glad to observe that in several provinces—in Bihar and in the Central Provinces—the peasants are already in the forefront. I earnestly hope that Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and other peasant leaders, who together with the 'Forward Bloc' started the fight along before Mahatma Gandhi, will now lead the campaign to a victorious conclusion. I will appeal to Swami Sahajanand and the leaders of the *Kisan* (Peasant) Movement to come forward and fulfil their leading role in the last phase of the fight. We want *Swaraj* for the masses, *Swaraj* for the workers and the peasants. It is, therefore, the duty of the workers and the peasants to emerge as the vanguard of the national army at a time when the future of India is being made. It is the law of nature that those who fight for liberty and win it, will retain power and responsibility. It is very encouraging, friends, to find that the people of the Indian States have begun to participate in this All-India struggle. Reports to the effect have already come from Baroda, Mysore and Hyderabad, and I am confident that the day is not far off when the States people will line-up with the people of British India and form a common front against the combined friends of British imperialism and the Indian Princes. Most gratifying of all is the news that the clarion call of liberty has reached the ears and the hearts of our soldiers at home and abroad. They have no doubt been court-martialled with characteristic British brutality. But the fire is spreading from one place to another. A large number of soldiers have voluntarily deserted to join the Axis forces in Egypt and they are being welcomed with open arms by them. All the Indian fighting units have been withdrawn from the El Alamein front, as being unreliable. No wonder some supporters of British imperialism have been brought up from India in order to impress the Indian troops. But their efforts have so far failed. I will be able to keep the outside world informed of all the facts of the Indian situation so to secure from the enemies of Britain all the help that India may now need.

"In conclusion I would like to point out that this campaign should be carried out for weeks and if necessary for months. If this non-violent guerrilla war should continue sufficiently long, freedom will come because British imperialism will ultimately break down owing to the cumulative effect

of defeats sustained on different fronts. Do not forget for one moment that the British Empire is now on its last legs.

"At the same time, be prepared for every suffering because the apostles of freedom and democracy and the authors of the Atlantic Charter may do their very worst in the days to come. Before dawn comes the darkest hour. Be brave and continue the struggle, for freedom is at hand. Let your slogans be 'Now or Never' ; 'Victory or Death' ; 'Inquilab Zindabad.'"

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

[Broadcast from BERLIN on October 15, 1942.]

"This is Subhas Chandra Bose speaking from Berlin.

"Countrymen and friends ! Since I spoke to you last over the radio, I have been travelling in another part of Europe in order to see conditions with my own eyes, and to establish contacts with my countrymen living there. On my return to Berlin, I have once again accepted the hospitality of the short-wave station here in order to speak to my countrymen all over the world. I desire to put before them the world situation so that all of us may clearly understand and determine our duty in future.

"Every Indian, whether at home or abroad, must have realised that since September 1939 the position of India *vis-a-vis* Britain has not undergone any change for the better, no matter what the military situation may have been during this period. There is not a single Indian who believes that if Britain were to win the war by some chance the position of India would improve as a consequence thereof. But I know that there are responsible Indians in high positions who believed at one time that if Britain suffered some serious reverses in the war the British Government would be in a chastened mood and would then contemplate a compromise with India. This expectation has not been fulfilled owing to the fact that the minds of British imperialists, like Churchill and Amery, work in a different way, and their political strategy is of a different sort. From the beginning, these imperialists had decided once for all not to surrender one jot to the demand for Indian independence. According to the needs of the situation, they would rather surrender to the United States of America, and later on they would try to make up for their losses by exploiting India even more than before. For this reason liberal-democrat politicians like Sir Stafford Cripps, who advocated some sort of an understanding with India, were kicked out of the war Cabinet.

"The policy of the ruling classes in the United States of America is now clear to the whole world. There is no hush about it any more. One has only to hear all the utterances of their public men in order to comprehend it. It is claimed by them that this country is in the American zone of influence and all other Powers, including the British, should acknowledge this fact and act accordingly. Strangely enough, even among British politicians a school of thought has already grown up which openly declares that Britain's place is a subordinate one, that the British should accept the world hegemony of the United States as an indisputable fact, and that it should merely try to hold together the Empire by some means or other. There can be no surer indication of demoralization in the British camp than the fact that British politicians have accepted defeat in advance. To the neutral observer, the British Empire presents a tragic spectacle indeed, because it is handing over one part of its territory unwillingly to its enemies and another part voluntarily to its great ally.

President Roosevelt is not committing the mistake which President Wilson did in the last war. Consequently, he is not helping Britain by a supply of war material and economic assistance gratis. His Government is insisting on cash payment everywhere and, in consequence British assets and securities all over the world are evaporating into thin air while the Americans are taking control of them. The U. S. Government has been occupying military bases all over the world at the expense of the British and the French Empires. And who is such a fool as to think that it will voluntarily return these bases at the end of the war? American troops are now to be found all over the British Empire, including England and Northern Ireland and also India. Everywhere within the Empire, American troops are under their own command and in some places, as in Australia and New Zealand, even British troops are under American command. In other words, America is slowly, but surely, carrying out a peaceful military occupation of the British Empire.

"As this military occupation is proceeding, the Americans are gradually asserting themselves in the political sphere as well. A shining example of this American self-assertion is the fact that American troops in England and in other parts of the empire are above the law of the land. They are directly under Washington and under the jurisdiction of American Law; consequently, the Americans today have the same extra-territorial rights which the British enjoyed for a long time in China, Egypt and other countries.

"A recent example of American self-assertion at the cost of Britain is the manner in which General de Gaulle and his

claims were brushed aside and Admiral Darlan, the protege of the White House, was pitch-forked into General de Gaulle's place in North Africa, in spite of all protests from the junior partner in the Anglo-American alliance. I confess that I was staggered the other day when the B. B. C. announced that Prime Minister Churchill had declared that the orders of an American, General Eisenhower, would be obeyed by the British authorities. One can hardly believe that the British Lion has been metamorphosed into a tame lamb by the master of the White House. But facts stare us in the face. The once almighty British Parliament cannot even venture to discuss in a public session the Darlan episode lest the American President be offended by it.

"So far as India is concerned, my countrymen are aware that American troops, American technical missions, American diplomatic agents are already there. The Americans are now openly saying that the Americans in India are not under the jurisdiction of London but of Washington, and along with this announcement, the White House is taking steps to tighten American hold over India at the expense of the British Government. No doubt Churchill and Amery and their colleagues are submitting to every humiliation at the hands of the White House because they hope that they will thereby save the Empire somehow. But the American President is a superior tactician. While thankfully accepting the abject submission and surrender of British politicians, he is relentlessly proceeding with his own plan of taking over the British Empire, lock, stock and barrel. He has now sent out as Ambassador to India Mr. William Phillips, because he was not content with the regime of the British Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. India will now have a new master in place of the worn-out Scotch Marquis. For the present, Mr. Phillips will be content with being the power behind the throne. But if the American plan were to prevail and the United States were somehow to win the war, then Mr. Phillips would openly step into the shoes of the last British Viceroy. But India has no desire to substitute an American Pro-Consul for a British Viceroy, and we must, therefore, fight this latest American threat to India.

"Countrymen and friends, let us have no illusions about the role of the United States in the politics of the British Empire and of India. We thankfully recognize the fact that a large section of the American people have sympathy for Indian independence, but unfortunately they are powerless to influence their own Government. So far as American official policy towards India is concerned, it is as imperialistic as that of Britain. If the White House really wanted to do so, it could have forced Whitehall to concede independence to India, but instead of doing that, it is itself carrying out a

peaceful occupation of India. And now Mr. Phillips is going out to India to make the necessary social contacts with the Indian people, so that in the fullness of time he and the U. S. Army can quietly replace Lord Linlithgow and the British Army and take over the reins of Government. Countrymen beware of him. Boycott him.

"Anglo-American propagandists have been conducting a terrific propaganda campaign regarding what would happen to this poor world if the Tripartite Powers win this war, and they are shedding crocodile tears over the fate of the small nations and of the minorities. But we the people of India, who represent one-fifth of the human race, know what will be our fate if the so-called United Nations were to win this war by any chance. The Atlantic Charter, of which we have heard so much, is as much a scrap of paper as President Wilson's Fourteen Points in the last war. But the application of even this scrap of paper has been officially denied to India because the Anglo-American Powers stand for an imperialist policy in India in an open and unashamed manner.

"British plans for post-war India have been made, and if British politicians were to have their own way, they would split up India into four or five States, under a strong imperialist Government which would exploit the country more intensively than hitherto, in order to make up for their losses in this war. The Union Jack would then fly not only over the capital of India as at present, but over the capitals of 'Hindustan', 'Pakistan', 'Rajasthan', 'Khalistan' and 'Pathanistan'. And, the Indian people would be given a British guarantee of permanent enslavement. Let Mr. M. A. Jinnah and his Muslim League ponder over this.

"Let us now consider what would happen to India if the British Empire were to be sent into compulsory liquidation by the White House and Wall Street, and if the American President became the 'Director of the World'. We are having a foretaste of this in the policy and the behaviour of the American Government today. This Government has always demanded an open-door policy in China; but do the people of China or Japan or India or of any Asiatic countries have an open door in the United States of America? Why has immigration in the U. S. A. been denied to the nations of Asia? Why have a large number of Indians, who had long been settled in the States, been denied citizenship rights in that country? If the Atlantic Charter has any meaning or significance for humanity, should not this insult and humiliation to India be removed at once? And if the ruling classes of America shed crocodile tears over the fate of the minorities elsewhere, why do they not first put their own

house in order? Why do they not put a stop to the lynching of negroes, which goes on even today? Why do they not remove the poll tax and similar disabilities imposed on the American negroes? And if they profess to stand for freedom, democracy and fairplay, why do they not remove the social disabilities from which the negroes have to suffer in the States.

"No, my countrymen, all this talk and all these high-sounding professions of American politicians and their President are sanctimonious hypocrites, just plain tommy rot. And, if Mr. William Phillips were to replace the Marquis of Linlithgow and if the Yankee troops were to replace the Gordon Highlanders, India would remain where she is today. India's only hope of salvation lies in a complete overthrow of Anglo-American imperialism.

"Countrymen and friends, it is my duty to inform you that our enemies are now trying to play once again the trump-card which they used during the last war. That trump-card was atrocity propaganda against the then enemies of British imperialism. But the world has not forgotten entirely the lies and the blood-curdling stories spread by British propagandists at that time. Who has not read such books as 'Figures' or 'Crewe House' and 'Wartime Falsehoods' written by eminent British publicists on the subject of British propaganda during that war? Who does not still remember the confessions made by General Charteris and others after the war about the lies that they had deliberately and diabolically spread against their enemies while the war was on? The world is wiser today as a result of that experience, and moreover, the development of the radio has now made it possible to expose the falsity of British propaganda at every step. So far as India is concerned I know that all this atrocity propaganda will fall flat. The Indian people know, perhaps better than anybody else, what British domination means. The foundation of British rule in India was laid by Robert Clive whom history has convincingly proved to have been a forgerer. The British Empire in India was built on bribery, treachery and fraud and not as a result of military prowess. During the long struggle for power in India, there is no cruelty, there is no atrocity that the British have not committed in that country. Who does not know that in our revolution of 1857 innocent men were bound hand and foot and shot dead by cannon fire. From 1857 till today, during a period of peace, the British police and military have indulged in every form of terror and brutality in order to break the backbone of the people. The official report of the British Government on the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1919

accuses the British authorities and the British Army of inhuman cruelty, unwarranted massacre, and of every form of humiliation and torture including dishonouring of helpless women. And even after 1919, the lives of Indian men and the honour of Indian women have always been regarded by the British police and the military as mere playthings. Who in India does not know of the sufferings of the people of Midnapore in Bengal in 1930, when homes and villages were burnt and their womenfolk dishonoured because they were conducting a peaceful campaign for non-payment of taxes? The atrocities in the prisoners' camp at Hubli and in the towns of Dacca and Chittagong in 1931 are known to every household in Bengal. After the beginning of this war, I have seen with my own eyes the photos of beheaded Burmese sent by British tommy's in Burma to their families in Britain. Such sadism is possible only among British tommy's, and to cap everything, is there any parallel to be found for the atrocities now being perpetrated on unarmed men, women and children by the British police and military in India for their crime in demanding freedom? It does not lie in the mouths of Britishers to accuse anybody of committing atrocities when they are themselves past-masters in that game.

"Apart from the fact that India's only hope of emancipation lies in the defeat of Anglo-American imperialism, we have to acknowledge quite objectively that this war will end with the complete dismemberment of the British Empire. Part of this Empire will probably gravitate towards the United States of America. Large parts of it will emancipate themselves once for all and some parts of it will probably be distributed among the other Powers. Mr. Winston Churchill may not like to preside over the liquidation of the Empire and undoubtedly he is thoroughly sincere when he says so, but the policy that he has been following will inevitably lead the Empire to its doom. His presence at the helm of affairs in Whitehall is the surest guarantee for us that there will be no compromise between India and Britain on the road to liberty. I therefore pray that in the interests of India and in the larger interests of humanity he may be left to rule over the destinies of the British Empire till the hour of its final dissolution strikes.

"It is not because of any wishful thinking that I am convinced that Britain will be defeated and India will emerge independent out of this war. There is a common world-strategy against the Anglo-American Powers in this war, which did not exist in the last. Thanks to the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, Britain has nowhere any peace now, neither in the Atlantic, nor in the Mediterranean, nor in the Pacific. The age of sea power is over, and in spite of all her naval supremacy, Britain now finds that the weapon of blockade, which brought about the final decision in the last war is now working

against her. Consequently, the food situation is just as serious in Britain today than it is on the European continent. The problem will become much more serious in future. The art of warfare has been so revolutionized that the old imperialist Powers are now at a disadvantage. Time, which in the last war was for Britain and her Allies, is now working against them; and last but not the least, the Anglo-American Powers have sustained a crushing defeat in Europe and in Asia, where the fate of the war has been conclusively decided. The Anglo-American Powers and their propagandists know very well how desperate their position is; and in order to divert the attention of the world from these dark facts they have staged a campaign in North-West Africa at the expense of the helpless and defeated French Empire. The object of this campaign is more propagandist than military; and simultaneously with the opening of this campaign, the output of propaganda has been purposely intensified. At one time the B.B.C. used to say that the United States of America would save the British Empire, then it went on to say that Soviet Russia, with the help of General Winter, would save the position. But when the Axis proved the falsity of this, the B.B.C. has now come out with the assertion that the battle of Africa will turn the tide of the war. From these facts you have to come to the irresistible conclusion that the Anglo-Americans, despite all their propaganda bombast and lying, face inevitable and shattering defeat. They are doomed, and steadily they are moving towards total defeat.

"In the circumstances, we Indians should mobilise all our resources and put in all that we have in a last struggle against British imperialism. The British, who have exploited India for more than 150 years, are now on their last legs; and in this dark hour of the British Empire is India's opportunity. If we can strike hard and with determination, I have every confidence that we shall be able to destroy British power in India and attain our freedom. This can be our last fight for freedom. And, I hope and trust that when the history of this last fight is written it will be possible to say that Indians all over the world fought in this battle.

"In conclusion, I would like to warn my countrymen in Bengal that difficult days are in store for them, much blood will flow in that eastern province, but our countrymen there should not fear it. It is Bengal that opened the door to the British in India, and Bengal should now show them the way out.

"In the past, the British used India as a base and also used India's resources for attacking and conquer-

Burma. Now that the British have been expelled from Burma, they want once again to use India, and particularly Bengal, for trying to reconquer that land. They are thereby deliberately dragging war to the soil of India. Bengal will accordingly have the experience of the horrors of total war before any other province. But, let Bengal be proud of it. The task of the vanguard is always a difficult one, but it is also a glorious one. I am confident that Bengal will rise to the occasion and fulfil her historic role.

"Once again the Sun of Freedom will rise in the East. Inquilab Zindabad. Azad Hind Zindabad!"

11. THE SITUATION TODAY

[Broadcast from BERLIN on December 7, 1942]

"I decided to make a short tour of Europe once again, in order to gather first-hand impressions of recent developments. During this tour, I have been in parts of Europe, which are called 'Occupied' territories. I have been in some of the new States like Slovakia that have come into existence after the outbreak of the present war, and I have been to countries like Italy, which are actively engaged in a grim struggle with Anglo-American imperialism. I am, therefore, in a position to form a correct and absolutely unbiased picture of the situation in this Continent. While making this study tour, I have of course been able to study the war situation in general and the Indian situation in particular. Finding myself in Berlin once again I am now accepting the hospitality of the short-wave Radio station here in order to speak to you on the situation as I see it, and on our tasks at home.

"It is not necessary for me to make a propaganda speech. Nor is it necessary for me to indulge in rambling utterances as men in the street are in the habit of doing. I shall speak to you as before, in a plain and matter of fact manner. People who are inclined to be impatient will naturally be disappointed that things have not moved fast enough during the last two months, and they may think that the situation remains fundamentally the same as it was in September and October last. I must tell you frankly, however, that I do not share this view. The war has reached a stage when time is working definitely for the Tripartite Powers and their Allies, and against our common enemy. Unlike the last war we find that in this war the economic blockade is working against Britain and not against Germany. Moreover, the British Empire has been steadily losing one part of its territories to its adversaries and

another part to its great ally. Consequently, the longer the war lasts the more shall we see with our own eyes the rapid disintegration and the ultimate liquidation of the once vast and powerful British Empire. Despite all the efforts of the high-priest of imperialism, Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Empire is going the way of all other empires of the past, and the only problem that remains to be solved is as to who will be the heirs and successors of this Empire.

"We have learnt from world history that it is an irony of fate that the staunchest champions of imperialism always manage to hasten its end. Similarly, we have seen in India that reactionary and oppressive rulers like Lord Curzon always do more to rouse and strengthen the forces of nationalism than the so-called 'friends of India' like Lord Ripon or Lord Irwin. We should indeed be grateful to Providence that at the most opportune moment He ordained that Mr. Winston Churchill should be at the helm of affairs in Britain. Mr. Churchill's premiership is for India the surest guarantee that there will be no compromise between the British Government and the Indian nationalists, and that India will achieve her goal of independence before long. Let us, therefore, pray that he may continue to rule over the destinies of the British Empire during the hour of its final and gruesome collapse.

"Meanwhile, let Liberals and Democrats like Sir Stafford Cripps, who in reality constitute a greater menace to India's independence, be thrown out because such Liberals and Democrats can only create confusion in the minds of Indian nationalists. Let imperialism based on tanks and machine-guns rule in India so that the Indian people may see for themselves what British imperialism really is, and in that knowledge refuse to have anything to do with Britain.

"However one might judge military events during the last two or three months, there can be no doubt that for India the political situation has, during this period, become more favourable. Mr. Churchill and his colleagues have, through their utterances and their behaviour, clarified the situation once and for all. Every Indian can now understand clearly what Britain's war aims are; what the Atlantic Charter and the 'New Order' of the so-called United Nations signify to the poor Indian people. Every Indian is, therefore, convinced more than ever before, that for him there is but one road to freedom and that is the destruction of the gigantic British Empire. If the enemies of British imperialism help India to achieve that objective, all the better for India, for her tasks will then be so much easier. But if not, the Indian people must gird up their loins and solemnly resolve to effect their own salvation through their own efforts, sufferings and

sacrifices. Between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism no compromise is possible. One must perish for the other to live, and since Indian Nationalism shall live, British Imperialism must die.

"Friends, we see that while in Britain rank imperialists have taken charge of public affairs and are managing things in their own way, in the United States of America, two voices can be heard. Large sections of the public are genuinely interested in Indian independence and openly criticize the American imperialists. On the other hand, the Government and those who hold the reins of power are pursuing a policy which can only be described as 'American Imperialism.' In fact, a definite school of thought has grown up in the United States of America, which loudly proclaims that the world belongs to the United States of America, and this theory of an American world-empire has already found an echo across the Atlantic, and several prominent and serious British thinkers are directly or indirectly giving their support to it. They are, however, of the opinion, that while the British should recognize and accept American supremacy in world affairs, America for her part should allow the British Empire to exist with all its dependencies and not to interfere in the internal affairs of that Empire.

"The partnership of President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill is going to endure, and the President knows that Churchill, his junior partner, will go on taking orders from him so long as the future of the British Empire and its continuance depends on American assistance. The Indians should have found out by now that in actual practice they can expect no help from the so-called United Nations in their struggle for liberty, and the latest developments in Anglo-American relations more than confirm the correctness of this view. The Indian people have, therefore, to fight their own battle and any help from outside, should it be necessary, can only be forthcoming from the enemies of the so-called United Nations.

"In this connection I should like to inform my countrymen all over the world that while Mr. Churchill and important circles in Britain are busy preparing plans for post-war reconstruction there is no place for a free India in their scheme of things. They hope to solve the Indian problem, not by applying the principles of the Atlantic Charter to India, but by adopting radical and drastic measures in order to crush Indian nationalism, so that in the post-war world there may be a number of States in the territories that have from time immemorial been known as India, and that all States will be equally under the heel of the British. I know that some of my countrymen formerly held the view that the British Government, in view of its precarious position, would recognize the freedom of India.

and thereby try to secure a useful ally in its fight with the Tripartite Powers. But I think that British strategy will now be clear to even a child of ten. The British Government, thanks to Mr. Winston Churchill and to the ruling classes in Britain, will not surrender to the Indian people. Whatever surrender has to be made it will be made only to the White House. And the sacrifices that Britain will have to make to the United States will be compensated by the plight of India, which will be much worse in future. In other words, while John Bull is bled white in order to satisfy Uncle Sam, India is to be bled white in order to keep John Bull alive. Consequently, so long as the British Empire exists the future of India can only mean the most painful enslavement.

"It should by now be apparent to my countrymen that the so-called United Nations are trying to develop something like a common world strategy. But, this is a poor imitation of the common world strategy of the Tripartite Powers, of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. In accordance with this idea of a common world strategy, of which the Anglo-Americans have talked so much the Anglo-American powers, in particular Britain, have been planning for a 'Second Front' which is to be set up in Europe as soon as possible. Unwillingly and under extreme pressure the Anglo-Americans made the experiment at several places in Europe, but in every case they met with familiar failure.

"As a last resort, in order to make some show of a 'Second Front', they made an attack on African territory, which neither belonged to nor was occupied by any of the Tripartite Powers, but which belonged to the French Empire and was purposely left in the hands of the French as a friendly gesture to a defeated enemy. This sudden attack on a helpless nation and undefended territory, preceded by intrigues with some of the local authorities, is now being trumpeted from London and New York as a great military feat. Neutral spectators judge this military feat on a par with the occupation of Madagascar and Reunion Island, which also belonged to the French Empire. It is meant to hide the defeats of Britain in other theatres of war, which are of real significance to the final result of the present struggle. It is meant to divert attention from the real issues and as a sop to the Soviet Government which has been making insistent demands for a 'Second Front' in Europe.

"Friends, let us now dispassionately sum up the situation as one sees it today. The Anglo-American powers have been driven out from the Far East and their own fleet now lies buried in the watery grave of the Pacific. From Europe, British power has been annihilated completely, and all talks of a Front are childish dreams. All that the Anglo-Ameri-

can powers can now do is to seek battles and wars on the African continent at the expense of the helpless French Empire. But it is Europe and Asia, and not Africa, that will decide the fate of this war. And so far as Europe and Asia are concerned, the prospect for the Anglo-American powers and their Allies is as black as can be. The British authorities have raised a hue and cry by radio speeches over the landing of American troops on undefended French territory in North Africa. I wonder what sort of propaganda they would have indulged in if they had really won a battle against a superior adversary. The tactics of British propaganda prove very clearly that public morale in Britain has sunk so low that artificial stimulants in the form of such British propaganda are necessary in order to keep up the spirit of the British people. For a time the B.B.C. was telling the world that the U. S. A. would save Britain from defeat. Then it adopted the argument that Soviet Russia would save Britain from disaster. Now it is saying that Africa would help to turn the tide of war. Never for one single occasion have I heard a Britisher say during the last three years what a great British Prime Minister once declared in another historical speech, 'England will save herself by her own exertions.'

"No friends, those days are gone for the British Empire and are gone for ever, and we now see with our own eyes the rapid collapse of what was once a vast and powerful Empire. I may tell you quite frankly that reviewing the war situation as a whole, in the light of the latest events, I feel more optimistic than ever before. Nothing can stand between the Indian people and their goal of complete independence. We must, however, participate more actively and more vigorously in the common struggle, having a common goal. There is one common world strategy for the maintenance and perpetuation of the old order with all the injustice on which it was based, and the answer to it is a common world strategy for the destruction of the old order and the creation of a new one.

"Coming now to the situation in India I want, first, to congratulate you once again upon your achievements during the last few months. It came as a pleasant surprise to the world where owing to prolonged British propaganda, it was expected that the unarmed Indian people would be able to put up such a brave fight against such a powerful enemy, armed with tanks, machineguns and aeroplanes. The British authorities have been trying continuously to conceal the real facts of the Indian situation from the outside world, but in spite of all such sinister efforts the whole world has been informed regularly of what has been happening in India, and what is agreeable for the Indian people is that

even in the camp of the so-called United Nations, there is a great deal of sympathy and support for India's demand for independence.

"Friends, I have already stressed that we are now engaged in a common struggle against a common foe. In this struggle India and the countries of the Near East have to play a more active part in future. It is for you, who have been enslaved, that the British Empire has to be overthrown, and your responsibility is, therefore, truly great. And the responsibility of the Indian people is the greatest of all. India is the corner stone of the British Empire. In fact, it is India that has made that Empire, and it is now the task of India to crush that Empire and to help in the liberation of humanity.

"There is no doubt that during the course of the national struggle the Indian people have suffered much. But they must be prepared to suffer even more. The path of liberty is never strewn with roses. Suffering is still in store for our people. More blood innocent blood will yet flow over the sacred soil of Hindustan before we can expect to be liberated. But the blood of martyrs is always the price of freedom, and hence we are prepared to pay that price. Our victory is assured beyond the shadow of doubt. Remember the slogan that I recommended to you the other day, 'Two years, and one hundred thousand lives'! We must be prepared to continue our fight for two years. We must be prepared to voluntarily sacrifice one hundred thousand lives in the course of the struggle. If we do so freedom will be ours once and for all.

"Friends, some of my British listeners sitting in the offices of the B. B. C. have been upset that I have not yet redeemed my promise to return home and participate in the final phase of our struggle. I would like to advise them to have some patience. Meanwhile, I may assure them that my pledge, given not to the British Government but to my own people, will be redeemed in the fullness of time. As sure as day follows night, the present world war will bring about a complete dismemberment of the British Empire. As sure as day follows night, India will emerge from the struggle as an independent state. And as sure as day follows night, I will live to participate in the final struggle for our liberty, not from abroad, but at home side by side with the comrades who have been bravely carrying on the fight, while I have been away on duty.

"Inquilab Zindabad. Azad Hind Zindabad."

12. BRITAIN IS DOOMED

[Broadcast over BERLIN RADIO on January 1, 1943]

"It is lucky that military developments during the last year have facilitated our struggle for freedom. Allied attempts to open their much talked of 'Second Front' in Europe has failed miserably. The Axis forces have the upper hand in North Africa. The gallant Japanese have delivered fatal blows to the Anglo-Americans in the Far East, and the British Empire is fast disintegrating. The Japanese maintain their superiority in the S. W. Pacific and on the Indian front. In short, British and American influence has completely been eliminated from the East as well as the West. The war has now entered its final phase. The Axis Powers are invincible and time is working in their favour.

"In the last world war the Allies had command over the major part of the Continent, but today, they have been ousted from Europe. France was the main theatre of the last war, while she is out of the game today. Russia was then on the offensive. She is now on the defensive. German forces have penetrated into the very heart of the Soviet Union. Both Britain and America had complete mastery of the seas during the last war, whereas today, their combined land, air and naval forces are no match for those of the Axis. The last war was confined to Europe and the Middle East, while the flames of the present have spread almost all over the world, thanks to Axis domination of the air, land and sea. The Mediterranean was under British control during the last war, but today, the condition of Britain there is very precarious. The Allies blockaded Germany during the last war, now it is the other way about. Germany has blockaded Britain.

"The Axis Powers have unlimited resources, manpower and vast stores of food grains at their disposal. The condition of the Allies is going from bad to worse every day, and shortage of shipping has become a serious problem for Allied statesmen. The active participation of Japan in this war guarantees Axis victory. Britain had long been busy fortifying the N. W. F. P. She began fortifying Eastern India in 1941. Singapore, which the British had been fortifying for the last 20 years, was occupied by the Japanese in seven days. Taking all these facts into consideration, we can safely say that the British are doomed.

"Indians should now come into the field and play their part in the crusade against the Anglo-Americans. They should shake off the British yoke. After the defeat of the British, Indians will have their own independent Government.

Indians and Indian nationals abroad ! I know that you have full confidence in me. The consequences of this war are plain, the British Empire will inevitably disappear and India will be a free country. Indians should, therefore, extend their wholehearted co-operation to the Axis Powers and fight side by side with them. Those who refuse to take part in the Indian war of independence are traitors. Indian nationals in foreign countries have also a role in the present struggle. We should carry on our struggle in spite of British tyranny and oppression. Jails and shootings should not dishearten us. Every Indian should be determined to face hardships. Sacrifice and action will help you to attain your long-cherished goal—Freedom."

13. INDIA'S DAY OF INDEPENDENCE

(Broadcast from BERLIN on January 26, 1943)

"On this day, January 26, Indians in every part of the world assemble to observe their Independence Day. On this day they gather together under their national flag for the purpose of reaffirming their undying faith in independence, and their unshakable determination to carry on the national struggle till victory is achieved. On this day in India, the tri-colour flag is hoisted in every home, processions are taken out everywhere and meetings and demonstrations are held all over the country, where the 'Independence Manifesto' is read and solemnly adopted. Not always are the Indian people allowed to perform this national ceremony without let or hindrance. Again and again they are obliged to act in defiance of police prohibition and in direct opposition to the armed forces of the British Crown. Thus in 1931, just 12 years ago, while leading a peaceful procession on Independence Day as Mayor of India's largest city, Calcutta, I and my fellow processionists were attacked and brutally assaulted by British mounted police till permanent marks of injury were left on our persons. But our lot was nevertheless better than that of those who had to face the bayonet and rifle-shot.

"Today my thoughts naturally go out to our people at home, who have to observe Independence Day in defiance of tear gas and police batons, bayonets and machineguns. So wonderful is the Atlantic Charter, for which the Allied powers are fighting, that in India all public meetings and demonstrations have been permanently prohibited, and a reign of terror has been let loose over the whole land, simply because the Indian National Congress had the audacity to demand freedom and democracy for the Indian people. To offer some

kind of moral justification for British domination and exploitation of India, British propagandists have depicted it as a land where there is no unity, where the people are eternally fighting among themselves, and where the strong hand of Britain is necessary to maintain order and ensure progress. But these presumptuous Britishers conveniently forget that long before their forefathers knew anything about administration or national unity—in fact, long before the Romans came to Britain to teach culture and civilization to the uncivilized Britons—India had not only an advanced culture and civilization but a modern Empire founded by Chandragupta extending from Cape Comorin in the South to Afghanistan in the north—an empire that was geographically larger than the India of today. And, India is a country where the past has not been forgotten as in Babylon, Egypt or Greece, but where history and tradition live in our blood and in the marrow of our bones.

"It is because of this national self-consciousness that neither political domination nor economic impoverishment have been able to kill our soul. Organized British rule in India dates from the year 1858—that is, after the failure of the great revolution of 1857. If prior to this period India could live and prosper for thousands of years without the help of Britain, she can do the same in future, when she is free once again.

"After the revolution of 1857, the British realized that they could not hold India long by sheer brute force. They, therefore, proceeded to disarm the country. Along with disarmament, the newly-established British Government, now controlled directly from London, commenced its policy of 'divide and rule'. This policy of 'divide and rule' has been the fundamental basis of British rule from 1858 till today. For nearly 40 years the policy was to keep India divided by keeping three-fourths of the people directly under British control and the remaining one-fourth under the Indian Princes. Simultaneously, the British Government showed a great deal of partiality for the big landlords in British India. By the beginning of the present century, the British realized, however, that they could no longer dominate India by simply playing the Princes and the big landlords against the people. Then they discovered the Muslim problem in the year 1906, when Lord Minto was Viceroy. Prior to this there was no such problem in India. In the great revolution of 1857, Hindus and Muslims had fought side by side against the British, and it was under the flag of Bahadur Shah, a Muslim, that India's first war of Independence had been fought.

"During the last World War, when the British found that further political concessions would have to be made to the Indian people, they realized that it was not enough to try and

divide the Muslims from the rest of the population, and they then set about trying to divide the Hindus themselves. In this way they discovered the caste problem in 1918, and suddenly became the champions and the liberators of the so-called 'Depressed Classes.' Till the year 1937, Britain had hoped to keep India divided by posing as champions of the Princes, the Muslims and the so-called 'Depressed Classes'. In the General Election held under the new Constitution of 1935, they found, however, to their great surprise that all their tricks and bluffs had failed, and that a strong nationalist feeling permeated the whole nation and every section of it. Consequently, British policy has now fallen back on its last hope. If the Indian people cannot be divided, then the country—India—has to be split up, geographically and politically. This is the plan called 'Pakistan' which emanated from the fertile brain of a Britisher.

"Though the vast majority of the Indian Muslims want a free and independent India, though the President of the Indian National Congress today is Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Muslim, and though only a minority of the Indian Muslims support the idea of 'Pakistan', British propaganda throughout the world gives the impression that the Indian Muslims are not behind the national struggle for liberty and want India to be divided up. The British themselves know that what they propagate is quite false, but they nevertheless hope that by repeating a falsehood again and again, they will be able to make the world believe it."

"I have taken so much of your time in analyzing British policy in India, because I want to tell you that though we have in British imperialism a cunning and diabolical enemy, we know our enemy inside out and there is no possibility of our being deceived again in future. There is no possibility of a compromise between India and Britain. We have nothing in common, and our national interests are diametrically opposed. The Tripartite Powers are today at war with British imperialism, and India, too, is engaged in a struggle with her eternal foe, British imperialism."

"British imperialism and Indian nationalism cannot exist simultaneously. The one must die if the other has to live, and since Indian nationalism will live, British imperialism must die. The struggle which is now going on in India is in reality a continuation of the great revolution of 1857. In the last four decades of the 19th Century, the Indian movement expressed itself in agitation in the Press and on the platform. This movement was crystallized into one organization, when the Indian National Congress was inaugurated in 1885. The beginning of this century saw a new awakening in India, and

along with it new methods of struggle were devised. Thus, during the first two decades we see the economic boycott of British goods on the one side and revolutionary terrorism on the other. The Indian revolutionaries made a desperate attempt to overthrow British rule with the help of arms during the last war—at a time when Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were fighting our enemy. But they, the Indian revolutionaries, were unfortunately crushed.

"After the war India needed a new weapon of struggle, and at this psychological moment Mahatma Gandhi came forward with his method of *Satyagraha* or passive resistance. During the last 22 years, the Congress, under the Mahatma's leadership, has built up a powerful organization all over the country, including the States of the Princes. It has awakened political life in the remotest village and among all sections of the people. Most important of all is the fact that the masses of India have learnt how to strike at a powerful enemy even without arms, and the Congress, under Mahatma's leadership, has demonstrated that it is possible to paralyse the administration with the weapons of passive resistance. The younger generation in India has, however, learnt from the experience of the last 20 years that, while passive resistance can hold up or paralyze a foreign administration, it cannot overthrow or expel it without the use of physical force. Impelled by this experience, the people today are spontaneously passing on from passive resistance to active fighting, and that is why you read and hear today of the unarmed Indian people destroying railway, telegraph and telephone communications; setting fire to police stations, post offices and Government buildings; and using force in many other ways in order to overthrow the British yoke.

"I have participated in all the campaigns from 1921 to 1941. During this period I have been in British custody eleven times, and on most occasions without any trial in a court of law. From this experience, as well as from the information that I possess regarding the present campaign in India, I can assert without any exaggeration that it is impossible for the British Government to suppress the movement this time. There are internal and external causes which account for my optimism. Among internal cause I may say that the campaign is spread all over India, that the people of the Indian States are also participating in this all-India fight, and that the movement has spontaneously developed from passive resistance to active fighting. Among the external causes, I may say that India is not fighting alone this time. The Tripartite Powers and their Allies are also our allies in a common struggle against a common foe, and even the masses in India surely realize that India has now a glorious opportunity

to achieve her liberty, which is indeed rare in history, and what is the most important of all is that there is a widespread conviction in India that this war will end only with the defeat and break-up of the British Empire.

"We in India had always regretted that during the last war the then leaders had not utilized the war situation to our advantage. It was, therefore, necessary for me to leave India this time in order to establish direct personal contact with the enemies of British imperialism, and thereby link up India's fight for freedom with the struggle of the Tripartite Powers against our old enemy, Britain. Though the Indian people must rely primarily on themselves for achieving their liberty, anything that weakens Britain automatically helps them, and it would be indeed foolish of them not to take the fullest advantage of such assistance which fate and history has provided for them.

"Regarding my activities abroad, I may say that what I have been doing outside India has the fullest support of the vast majority of my countrymen. As a matter of fact, there is now full accord between Indians fighting at home and those working abroad for the common goal of India's emancipation. I should not, however, give the impression that we are fully content with what has already been achieved at home. We are content only in so far as the movement is now a dynamic one and has developed into an active resistance, and that it is too powerful to be crushed by the armed forces of the Anglo-American Powers.

"The present phase of the campaign has a two-fold object—to obstruct the administration of India and to destroy Britain's war production in that country. But, we must sooner or later pass on to the last phase of the struggle, namely, an armed revolution for destroying British Imperialism in India.

"It is my personal conviction that the present year, 1943, will be the year of decision, and that during this year India must do the maximum that is possible for our common victory. The Allied Powers probably realize the significance of this year, and that is why since New Year's Day they have been carrying on a terrific propaganda campaign. If one were to read or hear what London or New York now says, one would think that the Anglo-Americans have already won the war. The Anglo-Americans have also been conducting a blood-curdling atrocity propaganda against the Tripartite Powers, just as they did against Germany in the last war. But that, too, is too transparent to deceive anybody for a second time. That the Anglo-Americans should be forced to adopt such methods in order to bolster up their own morale shows clearly what their position really is.

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"Anybody who takes a dispassionate and objective view of the entire war situation can come to only one conclusion, namely, that this war will end with the victory of the Tripartite Powers.

"We, the people of India, are convinced that we shall be freed before long, we have right to exist, not only for ourselves, but for the sake of humanity, for India represents one-fifth of the human race. A free India will be able to contribute in a large measure to the culture and civilization of the world. A free India will bring about the end of British Imperialism, which has been responsible for the enslavement, impoverishment and exploitation of large sections of the human race. A free India will mean the end of all those wars which have taken place in the past in Europe and elsewhere in the attempt to dominate India. A free India will mean that the countries of the Near, Middle and Far East will breathe freely, for there will be no power to threaten their freedom and security any longer. And, last but not least, a free India will be responsible for initiating a revolutionary change in the present economic order of the world.

"I have no doubt that, with the single exception of Great Britain, a free India will be a blessing to the whole world and an advantage to every other nation desiring to have cultural and economic relations with her. The industrialization of a vast country like India, inhabited by 388 millions of human beings, will have colossal and far-reaching repercussions throughout the modern industrial world. We, who are engaged in the fight for India's liberation, know exactly what we shall do in a free India. We are, therefore, preparing plans for national reconstruction for building up a new India. The task of reconstruction in free India is one which will interest not only the people of India but the entire civilized world as well.

"In conclusion, I thank from the bottom of my heart in the name of my country, all those generous men and women in different parts of the world who have demonstrated their sympathy for India's struggle for freedom. On our part, I assure them that we shall fight to the last till our enemy is overthrown and victory is achieved. In this struggle, which is for India a life and death struggle—a struggle for the vindication of justice and truth—there will be but one end, our victory and our freedom."

Editor's Note:—This speech was originally delivered in German; but immediately afterwards Subhas Babu broadcast this speech in English. Berlin Radio relayed the celebrations from Berlin and the commentator first read out the Independence Day pledge of the Indian National Congress and then described the scene. He said : "We are present at a big

meeting in Berlin on the occasion of the Independence Day of India. Many hundreds of guests have assembled to hear an address by Subhas Chandra Bose. There are a great many Indians here, and representatives of many other nations of Europe, all invited by the Central Committee of Independent India. There are many Germans, Italians, Japanese, and many high officials of the Foreign Office, officers of the *Wehrmacht* and members of the National Socialist Party. Among the guests are the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and the Prime Minister of Iraq, Rashid Ali el Gilani—a very colourful and eminent gathering. The Hall is decorated with beautiful flower arrangements—red tulips and white lilacs. Now Subhas Chandra Bose—the great leader of Independent India, gets up and walks towards the speaker's chair. He is dressed in black *sherwani*. There is a thunderous applause and cheering as he comes up. Subhas Bose is speaking in German. Of course, many of you will not understand, so we have made arrangements to let you hear his address in English. Subhas Chandra Bose has kindly agreed to speak to you in English. Now here is Subhas Bose speaking to you." Then followed the speech which has been printed here.

14. FREEDOM IS AT HAND

[Broadcast from BERLIN on March 1, 1943]

"Friends, when I took the unusual step of defying the British Government and departed from India, my principal objectives were two-fold. Firstly, to find out for myself the truth as to what is happening in the world, and, secondly, to see if India has any allies in her fight for freedom. During the time that I have been away from home I have seen things with my own eyes and heard with my own ears. I have followed closely the propaganda war conducted by both sides in this world war. I am, therefore, able to form an impartial and objective opinion as to what is really happening now and what is going to happen in the future. After this long, laborious and critical study of world affairs, there is not the slightest possibility of being misled or misguided in my judgment. I should also like to add that whatever I have done since leaving home or whatever I may do in future, has been and will be done with the sole purpose of bringing about the speedy emancipation of my country and I shall never do anything which will not meet with the approval of nationalist circles in India. Further, I may say that if the cunning, unscrupulous and resourceful British Government has failed to allure or to corrupt me, no power on earth will ever be able

to do so. Whatever may happen to me, my one and only duty will be to India and to India alone.

"Since coming to Europe I have seen much with my own eyes and I can, therefore, compare the actual conditions here with the lies that are propagated from day to day by the B.B.C. that is the 'Bluff and Bluster Corporation' of London. Believe me when I say that Britain is going to lose the war and as a sequel to her crushing defeat the British Empire will be completely dismembered. Whether we actively assist Britain or whether we remain strictly neutral, nothing can alter by a hair's breadth the ultimate issue of this titanic struggle. In such a situation it is not only wise and prudent but imperatively necessary for India to play a dynamic role. India must, by her own efforts and her sacrifices, contribute materially to the break-up of the British Empire so that out of the ashes of that empire may emerge a triumphant India which will be the creation of the Indian people.

"Friends, it will be an act of political suicide to remain inactive or neutral in this crisis. If we do so we shall either remain enslaved in spite of the dismemberment of the British Empire or we shall receive freedom as a gift from the victorious Tripartite Powers. We want neither. The Indian people must, therefore, fight for and win their liberty. But, in this fight some help from abroad will be necessary. I have studied very carefully this struggle for liberty that has gone on all over the world during the last 200 years, but I have not as yet discovered one single instance where freedom was won without outside help of some sort. Where the enemy is a powerful world-empire, the need for outside help is even greater and where that powerful world-empire, namely, Britain, is buttressed by a combination of several other Powers it would be the height of folly not to accept any assistance that may be offered to us. When Britain has been pouring into India war material and soldiers from America, China, Africa and the rest of the British Empire, it does not lie in the mouth of a Britisher to complain if we take help from any other quarter. It will, of course, be for India to decide what help she needs, and the less she needs it, the better it will be for her. We can expect help or assistance only from those who are our friends and allies. In the present case those who are trying to overthrow the British Empire are helping our liberation and are, therefore, our friends and allies, while all those who are trying to save that empire are only attempting to perpetuate our slavery. But apart from this theoretical proposition, my personal experience as well as my interviews with Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini have convinced me that in this struggle against

British Imperialism, the Tripartite Powers are our best friends and allies outside India.

Friends, I know that my friends like Swami Sahajanand Saraswati may hesitate to believe in the sincerity of the Tripartite Powers. But I would like to remind them that these Powers have in their own interest resolved to fight British Imperialism to a finish and they will undoubtedly do so. And, the destruction of British power will inevitably help India in throwing off the British yoke. Moreover, the whole world, including the Tripartite Powers, would stand to gain if India could liberate herself and the only country to regret India's emancipation would be Britain. In this fateful hour in India's history, it would be a grievous mistake to be carried away by ideological considerations alone. The internal politics of Germany or Italy or Japan do not concern us. They are the concern of the people of those countries. But, even a child should understand that whatever the internal politics of the Tripartite Powers may be, their aim in the international sphere is the destruction of the British Empire which is India's one and only enemy. Do we not see with our own eyes how, regardless of ideological considerations, the British Empire is now co-operating with Soviet Russia? It is high time that my friends and colleagues at home learnt to differentiate between the internal and the external policy of free India. The internal policy of free India is and should be the concern of the Indian people themselves, while the external policy should be one of collaboration with the enemies of Britain. While standing for full collaboration with the Tripartite Powers in the external sphere, I stand for absolute self-determination for India where her own national affairs are concerned and I shall never tolerate any interference in the internal affairs of free India. So far as our social and economic problems are concerned, my views are exactly what they were when I was at home, and no one should make the mistake of concluding that external collaboration with the Tripartite Powers means acceptance of their domination or even of their ideology in our internal affairs.

"Friends, my task today is to lead the final struggle for India's emancipation. But when that task is fulfilled and India is liberated, it will then be my duty to report to my countrymen and leave it to them to decide what form of government they would like to have. And, as I told Mahatma Gandhi in my farewell talk with him in June 1940 before I was taken to prison, I shall again call on him when I have succeeded in my mission to achieve India's liberation from the British yoke. It is a matter of profound joy and pride for all of us that, backed by the full diplomatic support of the Tripartite

Powers, our countrymen in the Far East are now assembling in a conference at Bangkok in order to devise ways and means for effecting the speedy emancipation of our motherland. As I have so often said, the last phase of our national struggle began with the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India. We shall soon reach a stage when we shall have to take up arms if the Anglo-American forces do not voluntarily vacate India. Friends, prepare for that auspicious day and organise simultaneously for the final battle and to resist the scorched-earth policy by which the British want to wantonly destroy and ruin our country before they fly from India.

"The British Empire, today, is in such a tottering condition that I feel convinced that with the right leadership and the necessary assistance, it is possible for the Indian people to achieve their own salvation. This salvation will not be long in coming. In the course of the present war India will win her freedom and I repeat once again that when the hour strikes I shall be at your side ready to participate in the final struggle. The Power that could not prevent my getting out of India will not be able to prevent my getting in. Meanwhile, friends, please send a word of cheer to our comrades in prison. Let them patiently bide their time for when they learn of the fighting they will be the first to hail it, and we shall then bring them the arms and equipment which will enable them to be soldiers in India's last war of independence.

"Countrymen and friends! Before I proceed any further, I want to greet you once again on my behalf and on behalf of all those who are working with me. We would like to tell you first of all that India's brave and courageous fight for liberty has produced a profound impression all over the world. In fact, people did not at first believe the report of British terror and brutality in India, and leaders in England were compelled to make speeches in order to justify large-scale shootings on unarmed men and women in our country. From these speeches the outside world was convinced that India was in a state of rebellion and that the reports emanating from India were quite correct and by no means exaggerated. Friends, I now want to assure you that the news of the internal happenings in India are regularly travelling to all quarters of the globe. The British cannot any longer isolate India from the rest of the world. I have noticed that every day that passes brings to the Indian people more and more sympathy from even the most unexpected quarters. All over the world India is today on the front page of the daily Press; and from the enemies of British Imperialism India can expect not only sympathy but any help that she may need in her struggle for liberty. It is for the Indian people to

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decide if they need any help from abroad and if so to what extent. Friends, I must also tell you that your countrymen in Europe, America and the Far East fully realize that India has a golden opportunity for overthrowing the British yoke. On the occasion of Independence Day, Indians in Germany expressed their complete solidarity with the struggle now going on at home, and they are doing their very best to help and support that struggle. What is more important, many of them have already decided to participate in the last phase of our national struggle.

"So far as India is concerned, the next turning point will come soon, and when that hour arrives and the last phase of the national struggle begins, India will have to strike her final blow. This last blow, which India will then have to deliver, will be the death blow to the British Empire and it will, therefore, be India's privilege to end that satanic empire. Friends, from what I have myself seen and experienced during my stay abroad, I am convinced more than ever before that the British Empire will be overthrown and broken up, and out of the ashes of that empire will emerge a free India. I, therefore, call upon all my countrymen to give up fear, doubt and hesitation and come forward to help the national struggle to the best of their ability. Disaster will befall those who still fight with the British Government. It is absolutely clear that time is now working against Britain and her Allies and is working for India. We must, therefore, continue the fight at any cost and by all means. We must definitely make up our minds to continue the fight for at least two years and to sacrifice at least 100,000 lives in the course of the struggle. Long before this period of two years comes to an end India will certainly be free. Our slogan should therefore be: 'we shall fight for two years and we shall sacrifice 100,000 lives for the freedom of our country. If you can do that and I can do that, I guarantee you success and liberty.'

"Let me remind you once again that the two-fold object of the non-violent guerilla warfare that you are now carrying on should be; firstly, to paralyse the civil administration in India; and, secondly, to destroy war production in India. I should also like to tell you that the time has come to intensify our propaganda within the Indian Army. This could be done best by sending our partymen in large numbers into the ranks of the Indian Army. In the last phase of the national struggle the Indian Army will have to play an important role.

"Friends, you must have realized by now that in future Bengal will have to play a most important role in this fight for freedom. Let all my sisters and brothers in Bengal prepare for this contingency. I must again call upon my sisters and

brothers in Ceylon to come forward and march shoulder to shoulder with us for winning our common liberty. This is a golden opportunity not only for India but for Ceylon as well. When India has been waging a gigantic fight for overthrowing the British Imperialism the task of Ceylon has become very much easier than it would otherwise have been. As for India, so also for Ceylon, the watch-word should be 'Now or Never.' Ceylon can hope to be free only when she stands and fights with India.

"Friends, do not be carried away for one moment by the pretensions and propaganda carried on by Anglo-American agencies. Look at the map of the world yourselves and you will understand the position today. Except in Africa, the Allies have not made any success anywhere in the world worth the name; and even in Africa, the Allies have not achieved what they promised to the whole world. General Eisenhower is still marking time and sometimes retreating in North Africa. To hide the shame of defeat, they have been saying that the most important theatre of war is Russia and not Africa. In Europe, British power and influence simply does not exist. In Russia, the real position will be apparent to anybody who looks at the respective positions of the two armies. In the Far East, the Anglo-Americans have received a shattering defeat and Japanese forces now stand on the eastern frontiers of India. The repeated declarations of the Japanese Prime Minister, General Tojo, have informed the world and the Indian people as to what the Japanese policy in Asia is, and what Japanese policy towards India really is. The final decision of this war will be not in Africa but in Europe and in Asia; and one can see for himself where the Anglo-American forces stand today in Europe and in Asia. They are in a desperate position, and any amount of loud and boastful propaganda cannot save them.

"Friends, in conclusion, I call upon you to exert yourself to the utmost in this most critical hour in our history. Victory is assured. Time is working for us. Our Allies abroad are all ready to help us. What more can we desire? We have only to continue the struggle, come what may, and no matter what the sacrifice may be. Be confident that India is going to be free and that before long.

"Down with British Imperialism! Long Live Free India!
Long Live Revolution!"